

**Young Communists and
the Path to Soviet Power**

V. Chemodanov

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AND THE PATH TO
SOVIET POWER**
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Report of
V. E. CHEMADANOV
to the January Plenum of the
Young Communist International

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CONTENTS

I. Fascization and Militarization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Young Communist League	5
Economic Situation of the Youth	6
Five Million Jobless in U. S. A.	8
The Struggle for the Youth	12
Fascists Unable to Destroy Communists	14
Bosses Try to Hinder Growth of Class Consciousness of Youth	16
Young Socialist International Becoming Bankrupt	18
II. The Tasks of the Sections of the Y. C. L.	20
Against Fascism, for Soviet Power	22
III. The Struggle Against Imperialist War	26
IV. The Struggle for the Uniting of the Youth to Defeat Social-Fascism	34
V. Develop Political and Organizational Work in the Mass Bourgeois and Reformist Youth Organizations	38
VI. Reorganization of the Inner-Life of the Y. C. L.	43

V. E. CHEMADANOV

is the Secretary of the Young Communist International and Chairman of the Russian Delegation in the Young Communist International. Comrade Chemadanov worked for many years in the factories of the Soviet Union. He grew from a Unit Organizer to a Section Organizer of the Young Communist League of the USSR. Then he became a District Organizer. After that, as Secretary of the Moscow Regional Committee, YCL.

This speech was given at the January Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, which followed the 13th Plenum of the Communist International. The Comintern Plenum estimated the present situation as one of a new round of revolutions and wars, and that the struggle for Soviet Power is on the order of the day. In that light Comrade Chemadanov's speech is of special importance and every leading comrade, every League member should study it so as to prepare for the coming decisive class struggles.

Fascization and Militarization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Young Communist International

AT THE XIII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International which defined the basic tasks of the international proletarian revolutionary movement in a Leninist way, the question of the struggle for the youth was presented as one of the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties.

The Plenum of the Communist International formulated the tasks of Party and mass work among the youth in a very concise and, at the same time, clear and definite manner.

The decisions of the Plenum state: "It is time to put an end to the isolation of the Young Communist Leagues and to really turn to the masses of the working class youth; to fight against the government system of compulsory fascization and militarization to form a really functioning mass Y.C.L. cell alongside every Party factory cell, and to develop the work within the bourgeois and reformist mass youth organizations."

The Young Communist League is the direct assistant of the Communist Party and it carries the influence of the Party among the masses of the youth. Hence the tasks which the E.C.C.I. placed before the Communist Parties in general, and especially the tasks among the youth, are also the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues. The task of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International consists in revealing the reasons for the isolation of the Young Communist Leagues, using the decisions of the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. as a point of departure, and in concretizing the tasks of the mass work of the Y.C.L. in such a way as to guarantee their solution in the shortest possible time.

The Plenum of the Communist International gave a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the international situation. Our task consists in making this evaluation understandable and clear to the broadest sections of the youth, and in drawing the necessary political and practical conclusions for ourselves.

A very important thing that the E.C.C.I. pointed out was that "at the present time the world is already coming VERY CLOSE to a new cycle of revolutions and wars" and that this obliges us to check up on our ranks and our forces, on the basis of Bolshevik self-criticism, and to place before all the sections

of the Y.C.L. the main task of reconstructing their mass work with the least possible delay.

The fact that the bourgeoisie, endeavoring to reinforce the disintegrating capitalist system and to avert the revolutionary outbreak of the resentment of the masses, is preparing for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and new imperialist wars, and is savagely intensifying the fascist offensive upon the economic and political rights of the working class, and therefore, of the toiling youth as well, also makes it our duty to do this.

Economic Situation of the Youth

The capitalist and socialist press is at present giving a great deal of attention to the youth. Its pages reflect the alarm in the camp of the capitalists and its fear of the political activity of the Communists among the youth. Capitalist journalists are making the greatest efforts to befog the class-consciousness of the youth. They write a great deal about the ideals of youth, but very little and very seldom about its actual and unvarnished economic situation. At the same time they are exerting all their efforts to depict the life of the youth of the great country that is building socialism as repulsive, as a life of hunger and want that is unbearably difficult. We are not dealing with the "usual" slander (if I may so express it) about the U.S.S.R., but about the fact that while the Soviet Union is victoriously developing and extending the construction of Socialism, while the U.S.S.R. is going steadily from one victory to another, the economy of the capitalist world is crumbling. The noose of poverty, ruin and hunger is becoming tighter and tighter. The point is that if the youth of the capitalist countries know the truth about the life of the youth in the U.S.S.R., if they compare this with their own lives, then they will sooner understand how it is possible and necessary to improve their lives, who are their class enemies and who are their friends, for what they have to fight and against whom.

A few months ago the French capitalist paper "Temps" carried a large number of articles about the life and the sentiments of the youth in very many countries, including the youth in the U.S.S.R. One of these articles states that in the Soviet Union the "youth of the present day is coarsened by deprivation and

want, by seeing so much suffering and by constant calls to battle, and it never has the opportunity of cultivating refinement of thought, mind and feeling." If we add to that a few more specimens of vile slander from the kept scribblers, we get a finished, typical capitalist characterization of the life of the youth in the U.S.S.R.

But what is actually the situation of the youth in the country where there is no crisis, where new plants and factories are being built, where the sown area is being extended and where the harvest is constantly increasing?

What kind of life does the youth have in the country where the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government is in power, where the factories and the land belong to the toilers, and where there is no police but a workers' and peasants' militia? **There are no unemployed in the Soviet Union.** The youth does not know what unemployment is. Numerous delegations of foreign workers who came to the U.S.S.R. were very much surprised by this. They were still more surprised to see that so many young people (50-70%) are working at the new industrial giants, at the old factories which are being extended and reconstructed until they are no longer recognizable, that the factories give the impression of being "youthful" factories.

This is not surprising to us, because the increase of the workers took place mainly by drawing in the growing generation. The surprise of the foreign workers at the absence of unemployment in general and especially among the youth in the U.S.S.R. is just as understandable to us. The point is that there is not a capitalist country where an unemployed army of many millions has not been formed during the years of the economic crisis, and where the stratum of unemployed youth in this army is not constantly growing.

The capitalist class cannot liquidate unemployment. Capitalist industry, which is expanding only in those sections that work for war, is not in a position to absorb the natural growth of labor power and use the millions of unemployed youth who in the main are unskilled. It is not the reduction of unemployment which is characteristic of the condition of the youth in the capitalist countries, but its growth; and the main thing is that a stratum of young people is growing up that has **never** worked anywhere.

In Germany the unemployed youth are estimated at about two million. Goebbels, speaking at a meeting of the fascist youth in the Sport Palast, said: "You young people, workers and students, are the main basis for the victory of the national revolution. The path to the highest posts in the government lies open before you. You have every reason for becoming the vehicle for the optimism of true believers." And we see how the fascists, not being able to "open the path" to the factories and plants for the unemployed youth, are opening for them the doors to the camps of enslaving forced labor and to hunger, want and misery. Out of 450,000 children finishing school in Germany only 10% obtained work! The so-called obligatory ninth school year is introduced for 350,000 children for the purpose of artificially restraining the natural growth of labor power. More than 100,000 unemployed young people in the towns have been turned over to the big agrarians and landowners for exploitation, virtually without payment.

Five Million Jobless in U. S. A.

In the U.S.A. the unemployed youth are estimated at from five to six million, of whom no less than one million are homeless.

The Roosevelt Government has introduced, with a great deal of pomp, the policy of "national industrial recovery." The result of this "industrial recovery" was the law regarding the dismissal of all minors from the textile, automobile, steel and needle trades industries. With this measure the government is increasing unemployment among the youth and decreasing wages. In accordance with this law the employers are discharging the workers under 16 years of age and taking many of them on to work again "illegally," at lower wages. This reactionary measure of the government, like many other measures, was enthusiastically greeted by the reformist lackeys as a great "socialist accomplishment."

This decrease in the number of employed young workers can be observed also in other countries.

The youth of the Soviet Union does not know what unemployment is. If you tell them about unemployment "relief," they laugh at you because their conception of relief for unemployment means getting relief on account of disability or old age.

However, for the youth in capitalist countries unemployment relief is often a question of life and death.

At one time the young unemployed still received unemployment relief, or some sort of charitable doles. But now they are deprived even of this right of getting relief to keep them alive. They have been deprived of this right in Germany, as well as in many other countries, where they are compelled to work off this relief at heavy, exhausting forced labor. In England, this right is finally being taken away on the basis of the Means Test and the new unemployment law.

It goes without saying that the farm youth, and particularly the farm laborers, who are being thoroughly exploited by the landowners and the bankers, do not get any sort of relief from the government when they get into the hungry army of the unemployed.

In the U.S.S.R., on the basis of the successes attained in the industrialization of the country and in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, universal compulsory political-technical education has been introduced, and a new system of vocational-technical education has been formed on a scale hitherto unknown.

About two million minors are involved in the factory schools in the U.S.S.R. In connection with the introduction of the seven-hour day in industry and transport, the 7-hour day for study and practical work has also been introduced in the factory schools—five hours for practice and two hours for theoretical study and practical work has also been introduced in the factories and a new survey of injurious work and trades at which minors are not to be accepted.

During the past three years, 299,000,000 rubles were appropriated through the social insurance system in the U.S.S.R. for mass health measures for children and minors.

Besides that, about 100,000 employed minors were sent to sanatoriums, health resorts and rest homes this year. This is without taking into account the fact that approximately 200,000 minors went to rest homes on their free days through the channels of social insurance. The result of this was a sharp decrease in the illness of youth in general and of minors in particular. The number of tubercular patients under age in the Soviet Union has decreased by almost 50% in comparison with 1913.

The wages of the workers, and, therefore, also of the young workers, are being constantly increased in the U.S.S.R.

The following table, showing the increase in the wages of young workers, is characteristic in this respect. The table shows the changes taking place in the average wages of apprentices:

INDUSTRIES	1931—32	rubles 83	kopeks
	1932—39	" 71	"
	1933—43	" 55	"
RAILROADS	1931—31	" 13	"
	1932—36	" 10	"
	1933—38	" 32	"

The growth of the average monthly wages of apprentices in separate branches of industry is as follows:

COAL*	1931—35	rubles 32	kopeks
	1932—41	" 89	"
	1933—49	" 6	"
METALLURGY	1931—33	" 34	"
	1932—43	" 22	"
	1933—50	" 33	"
MACHINE CONSTRUCTION	1931—33	" 37	"
	1932—40	" 4	"
	1933—43	" 1	"
COTTON INDUSTRY	1931—32	" 74	"
	1932—39	" 73	"
	1933—45	" 5	"
TEXTILE INDUSTRY . . .	1931—31	" 84	"
	1932—38	" 24	"
	1933—43	" 81	"

Note:—Information for 1933 is given for the first five months.

Throughout the Soviet Union a network of middle and higher educational institutions is growing up at a rapid rate. Young people who study get direct material aid from the government. They do not know what want is. They are not afraid of tomorrow because the great country which is building socialism calls upon them for creative work on a scale hitherto unknown in the history of mankind.

Things are quite different in the capitalist countries. We see how they are setting up a slave system of apprenticeship. Skill can be acquired in any branch of industry in two or at most three years. This means that after working for two or three years, a young worker can work as an adult skilled worker and should get wages in accordance with the quality and the productivity of his labor.

However, in many countries capitalism has established a 7 to 8 year period of apprenticeship, and this is becoming more and more general. To use the expression of the German fascists, "the word young workers is to be applied to everyone up to 20 years of age." In other words, the employers are given the right to pay young workers who are highly skilled according to the robber rates set up for "apprentices."

The employers are making use of this right to a wide extent, exploiting the millions who offer and sell their labor at a mere pittance without any qualms whatever. So that it would not be correct to think that in capitalist society, under the conditions of the crisis, the labor of children and minors ceases to be the cheapest and most profitable for the capitalists, and that they are being squeezed out of industry and agriculture. It is not a question here of squeezing out the youth from industry, but, under the conditions of the economic crisis, of reducing the number of employed workers, including the youth, who are often less reliable in industry because they are frequently not sufficiently skilled to give the employer the profit he demands. Here it is a question of new methods of exploiting the youth and of robbing them of their wages under the conditions of the crisis. The "theory" about the youth being squeezed out of industry must be fought against and exposed, because with these opportunist theories some people try to justify their poor work in the factories and their isolation from the life of the young workers.

The capitalist class is shifting the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. It is conducting a savage offensive upon the wages of the working class. For this purpose it makes use of all possible means, relying upon the support of the reformist and other trade unions that are appendages of capitalism.

According to official statistics, the wages of the young workers were reduced by 50-60% in Italy since fascism came to power.

In Germany, an uninterrupted reduction of wages is taking place for all workers, in which the young workers are, of course, included.

For the first quarter of 1933 the weekly wages of the German workers amounted to approximately 20 Marks, and by June

they had dropped to 15 Marks. The wages of the youth have been decreased even to a greater extent.

Sharp wage reductions are taking place in Czecho-Slovakia where, for instance, in the coal district of Brux, the wages of young workers who are working underground have been reduced by 30%, and for those working on the surface of the mines by 50%.

By increasing the fascist methods of exploitation, the capitalist class is trying to maintain its shrinking profits through direct and indirect plundering of wages, and through a general worsening of the conditions of labor. It is establishing "minimum" wages in the U. S. A. which, under the conditions of speed-up and low rates, are really a maximum which it is difficult for the youth to attain. In Germany it is introducing new taxes upon the youth, the bachelors' tax and the tax upon unmarried women, the tax for supplying work. The so-called "voluntary" contributions and the intensification of the system of fines and deductions from wages is being introduced in all countries.

It is endeavoring to bring the toiling youth of the so-called civilized countries down to the level of the toiling youth in China and the colonial countries, who are being subjected to the most slavish exploitation.

The great contrast between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world can be very clearly seen in the economic condition of the youth.

While the youth of the Soviet Union regards its future staunchly and with assurance, creating work of historical significance, and actively participating in the government, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, the youth in the capitalist countries are compelled to wage a severe struggle to assert their rights to human existence.

The Struggle for the Youth

Under the conditions of extreme intensity of class relations, in the search for a way out of the difficult situation, the class consciousness and the world outlook of the youth take form, and its political activity increases. The capitalist class makes the greatest use of such weapons as the family, religion, the school, literature, art, the press, radio, the cinema and the entire state apparatus for the ideological enslavement of the youth. It has

developed a whole network of various youth organizations. These organizations are extremely varied in their outward form. In the same way, in form, they construct their work to correspond to the desires and needs of the youth themselves. Among these organizations we find religious, semi-military, fascist, sporting, cultural, nationalist, and many other types. These organizations, which receive material support from the capitalists and are directed by special political cadres and instructors, educate the youth in the spirit of slavish submission to capital.

Millions of the youth, and without exaggeration we may say the basic masses of the youth in capitalist countries, are in these bourgeois mass youth organizations, including the reformist organizations. Apparently we know this. But what do we now observe among these youth who are still under reformist influence and in the capitalist controlled youth organizations? The characteristic feature is that the youth, irrespective of their membership in these organizations, take an ever more active part in strikes, in the revolutionary actions and struggles of the unemployed and the toiling farmers. It would not be difficult to prove this by examples from the struggles of the working class and the toiling masses in Great Britain, U. S. A., Spain, France, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries. On their own experience and with the help of the Communists and Y.C.Lers, the youth are more and more beginning to understand that they can only bring about an improvement in their situation by struggle.

A clear indication of the growth of the political activity and solidarity of the youth is the Paris International Youth Congress for the struggle against fascism and war. There was no large country where the youth, regardless of whether they belonged to capitalist and reformist controlled organizations, despite terror, prohibition and persecution, did not elect delegates and send them to the Congress. Hundreds of thousands of youth in France, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, U. S. A. and many other countries, including the fascist countries, united in the struggle against fascism and war.

The growing movement of the youth against hunger and poverty, against fascism and war, did not of course escape the attention of the capitalist class, which is becoming fascized and is frantically preparing for a new robber war. The bourgeoisie could not fail to notice the growth of the political activity of the youth,

the increase of their role in the class struggle and growing Communist influence among them.

They have been compelled to reorganize themselves in the struggle for the youth, in the preparation of cadres for war. This was pointed out by the December 1932 Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International last year. Unfortunately, many Sections of the Y.C.I. did not understand this and were unable to draw the necessary practical conclusions for their everyday work. It should be understood that in the present conditions of transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars the ruling class is unable to keep the youth under its influence by the old bourgeois-democratic methods. It is compelled to pass more and more to terroristic, compulsory government methods of the fascization and militarization of the youth. With brutal hatred, it hurls itself at the Communist revolutionary organizations of the youth. Germany gives particularly clear examples in this respect.

Fascists Unable to Destroy Communists

The German bourgeoisie, in terror at the growth of Communist influence and the discontent of the masses, took advantage of the fact that the workingclass was disarmed and split with the help of the social-democracy, and established an open fascist dictatorship. The fascists fiercely attacked the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. They burned the Reichstag with the aim of bringing about open civil war, of mobilizing the wavering petty-bourgeoisie and organizing the slaughter of Communists and Y.C.L.ers.

They were unable to do this, thanks to the correct tactics of the German Communist Party. They were also unable to do it thanks to the Bolshevik steadfastness and struggle of Comrade Dimitroff, and they could not, in their comedy of a trial, depict the Communist Party as an anarchist organization, playing at revolt and thus justify the brutal terror and unprecedented violence and cruelty which they are carrying out against the working class. They were unable to destroy Marxism and to break up the Communist Party and the Y.C.L., which are fighting with Bolshevik energy for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. By the method of physical annihilation, by frightening the masses with the axe, with medieval tortures and the maiming of prisoners, the fascists are trying to stop the growth of indignation and the

growth of the revolutionary upsurge. And this is not only characteristic of fascist Germany or Japan, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, but also of the other so-called democratic countries.

However, it would not be correct to think that only the increasing terror characterizes the reorganization of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the working class and its growing generation. It would be likewise incorrect to think that the growth of the political activity of the youth has only a revolutionary character. The bourgeoisie understands very well that there are two sides to terror. It understands that with fire and sword alone it is impossible to do away with the indignation of the masses and that by terror alone, it cannot prepare the masses for imperialist war.

Both in the fascist and in the "democratic" countries, the bourgeoisie is trying to make the greatest use of the political inexperience of the youth and its insufficient class consciousness. The bourgeoisie is at present putting its stake especially on the struggle for the education of the youth in the spirit of bourgeois ideology, on the inflaming of chauvinist and nationalist feelings among them. The bourgeoisie is not coming to the youth at present with the open teaching that private property is sacred and inviolable. Its policy is to try to blind the class consciousness of the youth with "high" ideals, flattery, new "theories" and "doctrines," not even hesitating to use also anti-capitalist demagoguery.

To what are they calling the youth in all capitalist countries, without exception? To sacrifice, to patience and submission. Appealing to their patriotic feelings, the bourgeoisie convinces them of their duties towards the bourgeois fatherland where they have to starve and suffer want. This is done particularly openly in the countries of the fascist dictatorship. For example, in Italy, in the fascist youth organization the chief slogan is: "Believe, obey and fight." Among the ten commandments in this organization we find, for example, the slave doctrines: "Learn to bear without a murmur, to spend yourself without asking anything, to serve without expecting reward," or, "He who is not prepared to give his body and soul to the fatherland and to serve the Duce unthinkingly is unworthy to wear the black shirt."

The government organ of the fascists in Germany, "Volkischer Beobachter," writes, for example: "Yes, it may be said that the strength and endurance of the government depends on its

attitude to the young generation. The old system demanded nothing from us, except quiet and silent waiting. But the new government demands from you sacrificing duty and stern service for the benefit of the nation. And thus our slogan must be always the duty of serving for the benefit of the nation."

And in "democratic" France or U. S. A., is it not driven into the minds of the youth that the robbery of their wages and unemployment benefit goes "for the benefit of the nation" and not into the pockets of the bankers and manufacturers, not for the support of the police and for frantic armaments!

Bosses Try to Hinder Growth of Class Consciousness of Youth

The bourgeoisie is trying with all its power to hinder the formation and development of the class consciousness of the youth. It is trying to make the youth believe that there is no discord between the rich and the poor; that between the youth and the manufacturers, in their class aims and interests, there is no conflict, that they are united by common "racial" tasks, "common" national duty. In order to distract the attention of the toiling youth from their class enemy, the bourgeoisie, the activity of the bourgeoisie in Germany is directed against all (of course not against the rich) who do not belong to the German "race," and of course against the Communists, even though they are Germans. In Japan, it directs the youth against the Soviet Union, against all those from whom Japanese imperialism wishes to obtain markets and colonies under the flag of "racial" consolidation in Asia. In the U. S. A. it drives the youth above all against the Negroes and all non-Americans. In the same way, in other countries it drives the youth against the "foreign" enemy and the enemy at home—Bolshevism.

The preparations of the bourgeoisie for war are expressed with special clearness in the chauvinist and nationalist propaganda, which is taking on an ever more unrestrained character and ever greater license, which whips up, above all, the hesitating petty-bourgeois youth and the de-classed part of the unemployed youth.

But the bourgeoisie does not limit itself only to propaganda. It tries to strengthen its influence on the youth organizationally. How does this find expression? Above all in the fact that in all the capitalist countries, and especially in those which have no compulsory military training and where there is an enormous

army of unemployed youth, compulsory labor service is being enforced. This forced labor bears the most varied names. In Germany it is called "voluntary" labor service, in England it is being introduced under the pretense of organizing "training centers," in Poland in the form of "labor battalions," in the U. S. A. as reforestation camps, etc. It is not the name which is important, but the things which are concealed under these names. These names conceal the things which the bourgeoisie is trying to do in Germany, in the U. S. A., in Britain, and in many other countries—to seize not only the whole of the unemployed but also the employed youth in a compulsory manner, to force them to work for a mere pittance and to train them in the spirit of fascist ideology, ready to give their lives and health in the future war, unthinkingly, for the interests of capital. At the same time, we see how the youth in capitalist countries are more and more being driven through compulsion into the mass fascist organizations. The leadership of the mass youth organizations is passing more and more from the hands of separate political parties to the government, and is being centralized in the government apparatus.

This establishment of a compulsory system of fascization and militarization of the youth is not at all of a one-sided character. The German fascists are now trying to adopt the Italian method for bringing the youth into the fascist organizations. In Japan this matter is centralized in the hands of the War Minister. In Britain it is in the hands of a special council. In France it is in the hands of the War Ministry and the Education Ministry. The bourgeoisie does not make it a compulsory condition that the youth should enter clearly fascist types of youth organizations. By centralizing the leadership of these organizations, it preserves their ramifications and their outward adaptation to the needs of the youth. The broad masses of the youth and even many Y.C.L.-ers do not yet understand this. They do not see how the youth are being entangled in thousands of threads and organizations, and their class consciousness dulled.

It would be insufficient and not fully characteristic of the reconstruction carried on by our enemies in the struggle for the youth if we forgot the chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie—social-democracy. We must not forget that enormous masses of the toiling youth are under social-fascist influence, especially

those who are members of reformist trade unions and sporting organizations.

Last year at the Prague Congress of the Young Socialist International, Friedrich Adler recommended to the members that they seek within their organizations the "middle" path between reformism and Bolshevism. On the eve of the coming of the fascists to power in Germany, he spoke of the struggle against dictatorship, drawing a parallel between fascism and the proletarian dictatorship for which the Communists were calling the social-democratic workers and youth to struggle. The delegates at the congress applauded Friedrich Adler. They applauded the fact that he was showing them a way of concealing their treachery under loud sounding pseudo-revolutionary phrases, under the disguise of empty discussions on capitalism and socialism, on democracy and dictatorship.

Y. S. I. Becoming Bankrupt

Less than a year has passed since this congress, and the leading sections of the Y.S.I., the German section, which has not received the right of legal existence under the open fascist dictatorship for which it so energetically cleared the path, has fallen to pieces as an organization, and became ideologically and organizationally bankrupt.

The Austrian and Czecho-Slovakian organizations of the Y.S.I. are on the way towards collapse. The majority of the Chicago organization in the U. S. A. has come to the side of the Y.C.L.

Ever greater differentiation is taking place in the "Young Guard" in Belgium and in the Young Socialists of France.

It is becoming more and more difficult for the leaders of the Y.S.I. to maintain even the outward appearance of internationalism because each of its sections is more and more openly defending the interests of its own bourgeoisie. It is becoming ever more difficult to maintain even the outward appearance of a struggle against fascism and war. And the youth who are still under social-fascist influence are uniting more and more, not in words but in deeds, and over the heads of their leaders, together with the Communists and Y.C.L.ers for a joint struggle against hunger and poverty and against fascism and war.

There is no doubt that these processes of disintegration in the Young Socialist International will become all the stronger in proportion as the class struggle and imperialist contradictions

intensify, and in proportion as we carry on stronger political work among these youth. The social-fascist leaders are more and more being compelled to use "left" maneuvers and pseudo-revolutionary phrases to keep their influence over the youth. For example, the British Labour Party declared the coming year to be a special year of struggle for the youth, while the leaders of the Y.S.I. declared the coming year to be a special year of struggle against war. This is after they had prohibited the members of socialist organizations from participating in the preparations and conducting of the International Congress for the struggle against fascism and war, and after they had expelled from their organizations many of those who ignored this prohibition!

It should also be remembered that the various so-called "left" Socialist Youth organizations are increasingly seeking the possibility of holding back their members and avoiding bankruptcy. The youth in these small organizations which leave the Y.S.I. have not joined the Y.C.I. They have remained half-way, still listening to those who shout loudly of the struggle against capital, but who are in reality the enemies of the proletariat. In some "left" organizations, such as the Guild of Youth of the I.L.P. in England, the youth are becoming radicalized and have more and more compelled their leaders to begin negotiations with the E.C.Y.C.I. on the united front. The Scotch organization, one of the biggest branches of this Guild, directly and unequivocally pushed its leaders on in the matter of really forming unity on the basis of principles.

In other so-called "left" organizations the process of radicalization has not affected the youth so deeply. It is precisely this which explains the fact that the leaders of these organizations have formed a bloc with the Trotzkyites, the counter-revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie and the bitterest enemy of the Soviet Union, who have become active here and there, and are making typical efforts to form a new Youth International.

These efforts are doomed to failure. They will not succeed in forming an International of Youth for the struggle against the Soviet Union, for the struggle against Communism. And all the more, we must now increase our exposure among the masses of the counter-revolutionary essence of Trotzkyism and the "left" Socialist organizations. We must accelerate their final ideological and organizational bankruptcy.

The Tasks of the Sections of the Y. C. I.

The Young Communist International, fighting under the leadership of the Leninist Comintern, was and is the only revolutionary youth organization. There is no country in the world where the Y.C.I.ers have not struggled nobly and boldly for the cause of the working class, for Socialism, against capitalism. However small the Young Communist organizations, they are a tremendous force and danger for the bourgeoisie. It is no accident that the bourgeoisie is now mobilizing all its forces to defeat and destroy the Y.C.I. organizations. The Sections of the Y.C.I. that are struggling and developing legally are becoming fewer and fewer. The bourgeoisie is more and more driving them underground. Nevertheless, Communist influence is penetrating deeper and deeper among the masses. The authority of the Communist Party and its nearest assistant—the Y.C.I.—among the masses, is becoming stronger and stronger. This is explained, above all, by the fact that in the Communists and Y.C.I.ers, the broad masses see the only people worthy of bearing the name of revolutionaries, fighters for their urgent economic interests, against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the U. S. S. R., in the struggle for Socialism, for the construction of a classless society where there is no exploitation of man by man; in China, in the struggle for the Soviet Power, against feudal landlord oppression and international imperialism; in Germany, in Poland, in Italy, under conditions of brutal terror, in the heroic struggle against the bloody fascist dictatorship; in Japan, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism; in Spain, in Cuba, everywhere; the Y.C.I.ers have shown themselves to be worthy followers of the cause of Lenin and firm revolutionary fighters.

The chief task of the Y.C.I., as Comrade Stalin pointed out, is to rally the masses of youth around the Communist Party and to educate them in the spirit of confidence in it, in the spirit of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism.

It is precisely from this that we must start, taking account of the directions of the XIII Plenum E.C.C.I., in determining the tasks and checking up on the condition and activity of the Young Communist organizations. It is precisely for this reason that we are not characterized by the heroism, and sometimes the

pessimism, of individual revolutionaries who are lost in admiration of themselves and who feel oppressed by the difficult, detailed and often unnoticed mass work. For this very reason we must critically approach the examination of our mass work, and point out their errors to some of the German comrades who underestimate the danger of sectarianism and the danger of the fascist terror and reaction, owing to their personal and genuine heroism.

From the Y.C.I.ers of all countries it is now demanded that they should mobilize all forces and energy for the struggle for the youth, against their compulsory fascization and militarization, against the chauvinist and nationalist propaganda of the bourgeoisie. We must rouse the masses of the youth to the struggle for their everyday economic interests, against fascism, which brings unprecedented oppression and poverty, and against new imperialist wars. We can only bring this about and overcome the self-isolation of the Y.C.I. and the enormous disparity which exists between its organizational development and its political influence, on the basis of the development of mass economic, political and organizational work.

What must be made the chief and fundamental feature of our mass work? What must be put forward in opposition to the chauvinist and nationalist propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist social-fascist "theories"?

The main feature in our mass work must be the propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings among the broadest strata of the youth, and the Bolshevik defense of the everyday economic interests of the youth.

Leninism is our sharpest and invincible weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its fascist ideology, in the struggle against chauvinism, nationalism, and social-fascist theories. Have we made good use of this weapon in our mass political work in capitalist countries? No, not yet. The chief reason is that we ourselves have not yet sufficiently mastered Leninism and learned to apply it in our everyday struggle.

There is still a big gap between the general agitation and the concrete struggle for the everyday economic interests. This must be overcome in the shortest time. And this is not the only thing required at present from the Y.C.I.ers. It is required that they go into the factories and mills, into the forced labor camps, into the mass bourgeois, fascist and reformist controlled

organizations, into the universities, the schools, the villages, the plantations—wherever the youth are to be found. And there, working with all insistence and energy, being able to combine illegal and legal forms and methods of work capably, to carry on the propaganda of Leninism and to mobilize the youth for the struggle against unemployment and against the worsening of conditions of labor. From this point of view we must reconstruct our mass work. We must remember that the task is to give the youth a **revolutionary, clear and plain outlook**. And this can be achieved if revolutionary propaganda is backed up by concrete revolutionary actions, in which the youth itself, while actively participating in the class struggle, in strikes, under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the basis of the experience of the working class, will understand that **there is no other way out of the crisis except the revolutionary way**.

Against Fascism, for Soviet Power!

While increasingly working for the most rapid development of the class consciousness of the youth and their outlook, it is necessary to expose among the wide masses of the youth the true character of fascism. We must make the youth understand that the danger of fascism threatens them not only from those countries in which an open fascist dictatorship has already been established. We must make them deeply understand that the class enemy is in their own country. We must explain the class nature of fascism, its ideology, and show what its growth means today and what it is concretely bringing the toiling youth.

For example, Mussolini explains in his treatise on fascism that fascism "takes on a form corresponding to the conditions of time and place, but at the same time it has an ideological content, raising its level as the highest truth in the history of thought." In this scientific treatise of Mussolini, if we may so describe it, we find such gems as the description of the fascist conception of "spiritual" life; that "for fascism the world is not the material world which is seen on the surface"; that "fascism is a religious conception" and "wants politically to be a real doctrine."

It cannot be said that this treatise does not contain concrete things. It says that "fascism despises a comfortable life," that it "counterposes itself to Socialism," that it "does not believe

either in the possibility or in the utility of eternal peace," that "only war will intensify all human energy to the maximum degree and put the stamp of nobility on the peoples who have the courage to go to meet it."

Hitler, who gave a foundation to fascism as a world outlook, increasingly emphasizes that "national-socialism" associates itself with the heroic doctrine of the value of blood, race and personality and also with the doctrine of eternal natural selection..." He repeatedly states: "In our ranks there are no citizens, no proletarians, no employers, no Catholics and Protestants, no monarchists and republicans. In our ranks there are only Germans."

All these ideologies of fascism cunningly conceal the class essence of fascism, and bring it out as a new religion for the people, particularly for the youth; a religion not altogether clear, but which promises something. And what must we put forward in opposition, so as to expose the nature of fascism? We must concretely point out the experiences of Germany, Italy and other fascist countries, on the basis of the decisions of the XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., that "Fascism is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialist elements of finance capital."

We must explain to the youth, what is hidden behind these "doctrines" of fascism, and that its growth and coming to power mean that:

- a) The revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital is growing;
- b) The capitalists are already unable to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general;
- c) Further, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance for the capitalists both in the internal policy of struggle against the proletariat and in the foreign policy, in the form of direct preparations for imperialist wars." (Resolution of the XIII Plenum, E.C.C.I.).

Fascism is not a "change of system," as is claimed by some members of the opportunist groups of Remmele, Neumann and Mueller, a certain part of whom are at present passing into the political morass.

Fascism is not something super-natural arising from God. The bourgeoisie replaces the parliamentary forms and methods of ruling the masses by fascist, bloody, open dictatorship, as it is already unable to conceal its dictatorship by bourgeois-democracy. Fascism in Germany grew and is still growing precisely from the midst of bourgeois-democracy, and in fascism capitalism sees its salvation. In Germany it was the greatest deceit, and remains so in other countries, when social-democracy denied the fascization of bourgeois-democracy, and, as the XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasizes, made "a distinction in principle between the countries of democracy and the countries of fascist dictatorship." It is necessary to expose this, and thoroughly explain to the masses that "the fascist dictatorship is not an unavoidable stage in the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends on the strength of the struggling proletariat, which is paralyzed most of all by the disintegrating influence of social-democracy." (XIII Plenum E.C.C.I.).

In exposing the class essence of fascism, it is necessary to utilize concrete examples, taken from the life of the German toiling youth, which plainly show what fascism gives to the youth. In Germany before the fascists came to power, they promised to give the toiling youth not less but "more" than the youth in the U. S. S. R. had won under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They stole the economic program of the Y.C.L.

Before coming into power, they shouted at all meetings that they would liquidate unemployment among the youth, prohibit exploitation of child labor and harmful work, increase the wages of the youth and secure them annual three-weeks vacation at the expense of the employers. Broad circles, particularly of the petty-bourgeois, peasant and de-classed part of the unemployed youth believed the fascists and went with them. They did not understand that the capitalists and employers who plunder their wages and exploit them, are talking to them through their fascist lackeys, promising them mountains of gold. They did not understand that when finance capital undertook to set up an open fascist dictatorship, naturally this was not in the interests of the toiling masses, and not with the aim of reducing its own profit. The German youth will be forced to become more disillusioned in fascism, and that part which went with the fascists will understand that they were tricked. Fascism did not fulfil

and is not able to fulfil a single promise given to the youth. When the fascists came to power, they liquidated the remnants of political rights and freedom of the youth. Tens of thousands of youth, who actively expressed their discontent with their difficult situation, were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of youth were driven into the camps of slavish forced labor.

The fascists brought unprecedented oppression and increase of exploitation for the youth. From the youth they prepare cadres for war in the interests of capital. They are pushing the youth into the abyss.

Together with this we must show also by concrete examples in the so-called democratic countries that the increase of fascist methods of exploitation and oppression is taking place there also.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of concrete examples, we must explain to the youth, that there is not and cannot be any equality between the exploiters and the exploited, between the imperialists and oppressors.

On the basis of the wide popularization of the life of the youth in the Soviet Union, we must show the concrete difference in principle between the proletarian dictatorship, the democracy for the poor, and bourgeois democracy, democracy for the rich, "which is the essence of even the best bourgeois democracy," as Comrade Lenin said.

By the example of the Soviet Union we must show for what the Communists and the Y.C.Lers are fighting and for what they call for others to fight. We should not show in general terms but concretely explain to the youth, that the Soviet Power liquidates unemployment, abolishes exploitation, reorganizes professional and technical education, gives the possibility to the young workers and toilers to obtain qualifications according to their natural abilities and to pass through high schools and universities, opens the path to commanding heights, gives all political rights and the possibility for active participation in the administration of the government, etc.

In many organizations, the Y.C.Lers do not understand the significance of this. They show the life of the youth in the U. S. S. R. sometimes from the viewpoint of the popularization of the successes of Socialism in general, frequently counting

this task to be secondary and applying only to members of the society of the "Friends of the U. S. S. R."

We must understand that we are now talking of the struggle for Soviet Power. The XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. set this question very sharply and definitely. It is directly stated in its decisions that **there is only one way**, and this is the way of struggle for the overthrow of every dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, irrespective of whether it is openly fascist or is hidden behind bourgeois democracy. The chief slogan in this struggle is the struggle for Soviet Power. In mobilizing the masses of the youth for the struggle against unprecedented exploitation, poverty and hunger, we must show by the living example of the U. S. S. R., that the only path out of the crisis is the Bolshevik path, the struggle for the masses, for a Soviet Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Naturally, our activity must not be limited only to the framework and forms of propaganda. We must answer the offensive of the fascist bourgeoisie by mobilizing the masses of the youth for the struggle against the offensive of the employers, for the defense of the trade unions, the workers' press, the workers' homes and quarters. We must organize mass protests, demonstrations and strikes. We must set up organizations of the youth in any form, including defense corps, for resisting the fascist militarized bands of the bourgeoisie.

Our task is to develop strikes and to lead the youth to take an active part in the mass and general political strikes, and to form an invincible united front in the struggle for Soviet Power.

For the Struggle Against Imperialist War

The directives of the XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., pointing out that the world is already approaching closely to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, compel us to examine the condition of our anti-militarist work with particular seriousness. But before we speak about this, we must checkup with special attention how the masses of youth are being mobilized for the struggle against the counter-revolutionary war which is being prepared against the U. S. S. R., and how the struggle is being carried on for the defense of the Soviet districts in China. It is necessary to say that in some circles of the Y.C.L., because the U. S. S. R. has concluded a number of treaties of non-aggression

with the capitalist countries, because America has recognized it, the opinion has arisen that the danger of an imperialist attack has been postponed for a long time, if it has not disappeared entirely; and in some places there has arisen a failure to understand the policy of the U. S. S. R. in general, since it concludes treaties with the capitalist countries. This shows above all a failure to understand the opposite, that it is impossible for two mutually exclusive systems like the Socialist and capitalist systems, to exist continually. This shows a failure to understand that the bourgeoisie are compelled to seek a feverish capitalist way out of the crisis, that they have limited time at their disposal, and that the Soviet Union, whose increasing strength is the basis of the international proletarian revolution, is a danger for capitalism. This also shows the failure to understand, or the lack of desire to understand, that in view of the growing danger of fascism, which, through the mouths of the Japanese adventurers and the German demagogues, has declared a holy and destructive struggle against Bolshevism. The Soviet Union must make the greatest use of the internal contradictions of imperialism, make the greatest use of every possibility for peaceful labor so as to prevent a new bloody war from breaking out. When concluding treaties with capitalist countries, the Soviet Government did not and does not make concessions in principle to the capitalists, and by its very nature does not and could not conclude treaties directed against the interests of the proletariat. **The Soviet Government is a workers' and farmers' government!** The Soviet Government has become one of the decisive factors in the international arena. The capitalists are compelled to reckon with its power, with its peace policy. And the more they reckon with the Soviet Union, the more its economic power and defensive power will be strengthened, the more will the sympathy and support of the masses of the whole world grow for the proletariat and the collective farm peasants of the U. S. S. R. And the more capitalist economy breaks down, the greater will be the hatred of capitalism and the danger of an attack against the Soviet Union. Today the danger of an imperialist attack against the U. S. S. R. is a real danger. The danger of an imperialist war is just as real.

The growth of fascism does not mean the international unity of the forces of capitalism, but on the contrary, their clearly

expressed nationalist disunity and the sharpening of imperialist contradictions. The inflaming of chauvinist and nationalist feelings means already the ideological preparation of the masses for new wars. And these wars may break out at any moment. The widely spread opinion that the beginning of war is indissolubly connected with the season of the year, is absolutely incorrect. In our times of technique, aviation, radio, submarines, tanks and tremendous guns, of course it is not spring, summer, autumn or winter which determines the beginning of war. It has become a legend that when it is raining the Chinese soldiers leave the front so as not to get wet. The Sixth campaign organized by the Chinese generals and landlords, with the direct support of international imperialism, is developing irrespective of the weather. And only the power of the Chinese Red Army, its victorious and heroic courage, will deliver destructive blows at the armies of the generals, and disrupt the plan for the destruction of these Chinese Soviets. We must not rest for a moment in the struggle for the defense of Soviet China, in mobilizing the masses to defend the U. S. S. R. and against new imperialist wars.

All the sections of the Y.C.I., holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, taking an example from the heroic Y.C.I. of China and Japan, must be prepared to react independently to international events. We must not make it possible for events to catch the Y.C.L.ers unprepared. We must learn immediately to expose every measure of the bourgeoisie directed towards the preparation of imperialist war. Even now, we must go deeply among the masses and explain the danger of new wars, expose the social-chauvinist policy of social-democracy and the class content of pacifism, which disarm the masses in the struggle against fascism and war. This is our task at the present time.

The Y.C.L. organizations acted correctly when, not waiting for special directives and instructions from above, they warmly responded to the call of the initiative committee for calling the International Congress for the struggle against fascism and war. The Y.C.L. organizations in France, in Czecho-Slovakia, England, the U. S. A., Spain and also in other countries, including Germany, were able to join actively in the growing anti-fascist and anti-military youth movement. They were able to widen

their contacts with the youth of other organizations and stand at the head of their growing activity.

While mentioning the successes of some of our Leagues in this respect, we must say that these are only the first steps in the development of the mass movement and work. The task is not only to explain to the youth the danger of war, not only to carry on "a campaign"—the chief task is to strengthen and widen the contacts with the youth, organize the youth in such a way that they will decisively repulse the attacks on their wages, that they will unite more and more and will succeed in preventing the beginning of imperialist war, in converting it into civil war directed against capitalism and bringing victory to the proletariat.

When the question is raised as to organizing the youth for the struggle for their vital economic demands and for the struggle against war, we are not only speaking of the formation of Y.C.L. cells. We are speaking of a profound explanation among the masses of youth of their class tasks, of utilizing any form of organization to unite and weld together the forces of the youth. The Y.C.L. must immediately increase its political educational work among the recruits, sailors and soldiers.

As in the case of the defense of the Soviet districts of China, we must not limit ourselves merely to propaganda. The good example of the struggle of the French Y.C.L. and also of the Czecho-Slovakian Y.C.L. must be multiplied. In this concrete struggle today the youth must be prepared and must be steeled in order to disrupt imperialist war and destroy capitalism.

Of course, it would not be correct if the Y.C.L.ers merely took the basic slogans given by the XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the struggle for the Soviet Power, on the struggle against fascism and war and began to agitate for them, but forgot about the extremely important directives of the E.C.C.I. on the necessity of increasing the struggle for the economic interests of the youth and linking up this struggle with the struggle for power. Every one will agree with this and will also agree that the youth cannot be won over and taught to fight by mere agitations. However, in practice it does not work out this way.

Of course, we could bring forward many examples from the struggle of the Polish League and a number of other Leagues showing the ability of the Y.C.L. organizations to organize the

youth not in words but in practice for the struggle for their economic demands. We could bring plenty of examples from the struggle of the German Y.C.L., which in many of the forced labor camps was able to unite the youth for the struggle and to disrupt these camps. However, these are not yet characteristic of the work of all the Y.C.L. organizations. This is expressed with special clearness in the fact that although there were very many strikes last year, stubborn mass strikes in which the youth took an active part, the economic demands of the youth were only put forward in individual strikes. This is no chance. It is no chance because the Y.C.L. works badly in industry, and frequently looks on the defense of the economic interests of the youth in a sectarian manner. The directives of the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I., stating that the defense of the economic interests and demands of the youth are not merely limited to the organizations of independent youth strikes, and that every strike should be used for this purpose, is still not carried out in practice.

A program for economic struggle was worked out at the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. On the basis of this program, all the Leagues were instructed to work out concrete economic demands suitable to the given country and to various big branches of industry, at meetings of workers and unemployed youth. The demand was put forward to all the Leagues to show to the broad masses of the youth what the Y.C.L. is concretely struggling for. They were required to show that the Y.C.L. not only agitates for the dictatorship of the proletariat in general, but that it defends the proletarian interests of the youth and organizes its struggles against every reduction of wages, against every worsening of the conditions of labor, for the slightest demands. A year has passed since the Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. Can many of the Y.C.L. organizations and their representatives say now that they have honorably fulfilled this demand? No! Very few of them can make such a claim. This demand was not carried out either along the lines of propaganda or along the lines of the concrete struggle.

Matters are still worse with the organization and leadership of the economic struggle of the toiling peasant youth and especially the young farm laborers. Though something is being done in this matter, chiefly by the Polish League and also in

Spain, Bulgaria, and to some extent in Czecho-Slovakia nevertheless, in France, for example, and in a number of other Leagues, they do not even know the demands of the peasant youth.

In this respect, fascism in the capitalist countries teaches us many valuable lessons. The fascists take the demands of the youth themselves, sometimes stealing the economic program of the Y.C.L., as in Germany, carry on mass work, and without being sparing of promises or demagoguery, deceive and win over the youth. Was this not the case in Germany, where the Y.C.L.-ers shouted a great deal about the program of the social and national liberation of the youth, and did very little concretely for its popularization among the masses of youth. And are not some Y.S.I. organizations now trying to maneuver, to go to the youth with a program of partial demands and keep them under their influence?

If we raise the question of mass work, the backbone of this work is the mass economic struggle against the frightful and increasing exploitation of youth and children. Hence the conclusion is that we must increase the activity and initiative of the Leagues in the mass economic work, in the struggle for the economic demands of the youth, in the struggle for the economic interests of the youth. Concretely, this means to go to the factories and mills, and there together with the youth, at the head of them, to organize resistance to the attacks of the employers on wages, on the conditions of labor of the youth. Concretely, this means to put forward a concrete program of economic demands worked out by the youth themselves in all the basic and decisive branches of industry. Special attention must be paid to those branches of industry where the labor of girls and children is widely used, because they are subjected to still greater exploitation and still greater oppression.

In this struggle we must utilize all the rich experience of the economic struggle of the working class. Verbal agitation, impromptu meetings, public meetings, leaflets, factory papers, the sending of delegations with demands to the management, along with the election of strike committees in the shops—all these must be utilized for the careful preparation of strikes. We must make the youth understand, on the basis of their active participation in strikes, that an improvement, even a partial one, in their economic situation can only be brought about by a

struggle, and that only oportunist and reformists are afraid of strikes.

We must construct mass work in the factories in such a way that the slightest pressure by the employer, the slightest fascist tax, any unlawful reduction of wages, fine or dismissal, will rouse a wide echo in all the workshops, and will call forth resistance by all the workers. Only if partial economic demands for the youth are linked up with our Communist slogans in principle, only if strikes are converted into political and mass strikes, only if the Y.C.L. boldly comes forward as an organization and as the organizer, can we take the lead in the growing political activity of the youth and mobilize them for the struggle for power.

The task is not only to prepare and carry on a strike, but to consolidate its results organizationally. In many Y.C.L. organizations this is not understood. And above all, it is not understood in the U. S. A., Great Britain and France. I could give dozens of examples showing how the youth struggle successfully and well for their economic rights, and how the local Y.C.L. organizations sometimes even take an active part in the strikes, but forget that when the strike is over this does not mean that the struggle has finished and that the attack of the bourgeoisie on wages and conditions of labor has stopped. They forget that a struggle cannot be carried on without organization and they do not organize the youth well in the factories. We must strike with the greatest insistency at the opportunist underestimation of the work among the working youth and the underestimation of their organization.

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasizezd once again that the **concrete** task is to form a real mass Y.C.L. cell which really functions, along with every Party factory cell. Does this mean that the organization of the working youth is to be limited only to the formation of Y.C.L. cells? No, it would not be correct to understand the directives of the Comintern in such a way. The directives of the Comintern strike above all at the sectarian methods of work in the factories. Is it normal that in many big factories where several thousand young workers are employed there is a single Y.C.L. cell with 7 or 8 members in several dozen shops? Is it normal that this cell, hiding inside its own shell, does not try to form a youth section in the Red trade

union or an opposition group, or some other form of uniting the youth in the reformist, fascist and religious unions?

We must feel out new forms of uniting and organizing the youth in the factories. We must fight for the formation, in Germany for example, of class independent trade unions, and we must carry on mass political work among the youth in the fascist organizations, simultaneously forming our illegal mutual aid clubs, cultural circles, anti-war and anti-fascist activities, etc. Only if mass economic, political and organizational work is very widely carried on can the factory Y.C.L. cell grow, strengthen and gain authority.

Mass economic work is not limited only to work in the factories. More than ever before, it is essential to organize the growing army of millions of unemployed youth for the struggle against hunger and poverty. Here we should state directly that many Y.C.L. organizations, though most of their members are unemployed, do nothing to work among the most needy and most unfortunate youth. And our class enemy takes advantage of this, driving the unemployed youth with the whip of hunger into the forced labor camps, the army, the fascist militarized gangs.

In the present day, work among the unemployed youth is one of the most important sectors of the class struggle. Precisely for this reason, in the near future, we should propose on behalf of the Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. that this question be raised for discussion by all Y.C.L. and Party organizations without exception. We must not limit ourselves only to a formal discussion of the question, as was the case when discussing the directives of the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. and work among children. We should appoint special cadres of Y.C.L.ers in discussing the instructions for work among the unemployed youth. We should see that in every Y.C.L. committee, in every cell and group, special comrades are appointed to take political responsibility for the work among the unemployed. We must strengthen the invincible united front of the working and unemployed youth against their common class enemy. At the same time we must turn our faces towards the peasant youth, the young farm laborers, and especially the nationally oppressed youth. This applies to all Leagues without exception, including the Polish, and especially the Y.C.L. of such imperialist countries as U. S. A., France and Great Britain.

While actively coming forward as the organizer of the youth in their struggle for economic and political demands, we must work in a Bolshevik manner to form the united front of the youth from below in the struggle against fascism and war.

The Struggle for the Uniting of the Youth to Defeat Social Fascism

The Communist International is fighting steadily in a Leninist manner for the formation of the united front of the working class.

In reply to the attack of fascism, the Comintern appealed to all social-democratic organizations to unite for a joint struggle against fascism. The Second International rejected the proposal of the Comintern, just as the German social-democrats repeatedly rejected the proposal of the Communist Party for the formation of the united front. The social-fascists did not support the Communists in their struggle for unity because they are the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie, because they have cleared and are clearing the road for fascism, because the united front of the workers is dangerous for the bourgeoisie.

Knowing this, and knowing that the Y.S.I. directly brings social-fascist influence to bear among the youth, the E.C.Y.C.I. followed the Comintern and appealed to the Socialist youth organizations to form a united front for the struggle against fascism. The chief sections of the Y.C.I. also made a similar appeal to the young Socialist organizations. In these appeals we did not put forward unacceptable conditions for the Socialist youth. We said "let us struggle together against fascism, not in words but in deeds." In other words, we called on them to expose fascism in each country in the form in which it appeared, called on them to struggle against the reduction of wages for the youth, for unemployment relief, for the protection of workers' houses and organizations. To this we added that during the joint struggle we would stop polemics with them. Did we act rightly? Yes, without a question. And events proved it. What happened in practice? In practice, when things got as far as the formation of a real united front, the leaders of the Y.S.I. and its sections were compelled to show their real faces. The leaders of the Y.S.I. did not reply to the appeal of the E.C.Y.C.I. on the united front. The leaders of the sections of the Y.S.I.

acted with greater determination. In Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and a number of other countries, they openly prohibited their members from negotiating and struggling together with the Y.C.L.ers against fascism, against the attack of the bourgeoisie, "before the negotiations of the Y.S.I. leaders with Moscow."

Well, and how did the members of the Young Socialist organizations respond to the appeal for unity in the class struggle? Not like their leaders. In many countries and organizations, despite the prohibition of the leaders, the Y.C.L.ers, together with the Young Socialists, organized demonstrations, mass protests, actions, issued papers and leaflets, called on the youth to unite and struggle against fascism. In many Socialist organizations, individual active members were later expelled for this.

What is the significance of this? What conclusions can we draw on the basis of the concrete facts? The first conclusion is that the Y.S.I. leaders are carrying on the social-fascist policy of the Second International. Like the leaders of the Second International, they use their influence among some sections of the youth to split the youth. They not only sabotage but openly fight against any attempt at the unity of the youth, because they are openly in the reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie.

The second conclusion is that they expel from their ranks those who begin to struggle in practice against fascism and war, for their vital economic interests.

The third conclusion is that we cannot take the same attitude to the social-fascist leaders of the Y.S.I., and to its members. The members of the Young Socialist organizations and of the reformist trade unions are becoming ever more radicalized and are beginning to understand that it is impossible to struggle against the bourgeoisie by declarations, resolutions and speeches, however revolutionary their content. This is not struggle but trickery. For this very reason, they are more and more beginning to come away from the influence of the social-fascist leaders and to join the Y.C.L.

The next conclusion is that we cannot think that by negotiations from above, behind the backs of the masses, we can achieve unity with the social-fascists and form the united front. The united front is only formed and forged in the struggle. In

offices it is difficult to organize and carry out a strike and demonstrations. But in taking account of this, and of the necessity of increasing the struggle for forming the united front from below, it would be incorrect if we limited ourselves only to these conclusions when settling our tasks. We should take account of the general and new conditions of the class struggle, the processes which are taking place in the ranks of the Y.S.I. and the reformist youth, and also the mistakes which were made by some Y.C.L. organizations in the struggle for the united front.

The extremely intense class struggle, the growth of the internal contradictions of capitalism, and especially the growth of Communist influence among the masses, are accelerating the process of disintegration of the Second International and the Y.S.I. The new feature in the consciousness of the young Socialists, the thing which they can now plainly see, is that the policy of their leaders is a policy of betrayal and they will become still more convinced of this. Today we have all the conditions not only for raising the question of unity before the members of the Y.S.I. during strikes or demonstrations, not only for the support of their oppositional feelings, but there are all the conditions for speaking of their coming over from the camp of the enemies of the proletariat into our ranks, into the Y.C.L.

Our task is to explain to the broad masses of the youth who are under social-fascist influence, especially those in the reformist trade unions and sport organizations, that their way does not lie along the path of their leaders. We must show concretely that the path of the leaders is the path of treachery, the path of supporting the exploiters. We can achieve this if the Y.C.L. carries on extensive ideological work among the masses of the youth, if it fights shoulder to shoulder with the youth against exploitation, reaction and terror. The struggle against social-fascist influence on the youth is not limited only to the recruiting of young Socialists into the Y.C.L. and exposing the maneuvers of the Y.S.I. The Y.S.I. itself and also its sections is not a large body. Being petty-bourgeois in its essence and in the principles of its organizational structure, most of its members are only on paper and are incapable of struggling under conditions of open fascist dictatorship. If our tactics are correct, it will not be difficult to win over the most revolutionary and honest members to the side of the Y.C.L. But a very difficult

and a very important political task is to expose and liquidate the social-democratic and reformist illusions among the masses.

Precisely for this reason, we must increase our propaganda of Leninist teachings among the masses of youth, and our ideological struggle against the social-fascist "theories" and ideologists. This requires enormous initiative from the Y.C.Lers, and necessitates the ability to expose the essence of social-fascism by concrete examples.

We must not repeat the mistakes of some Y.C.L. organizations which strengthen the social-fascist and social-democratic illusions, and objectively help the social-fascists to depict themselves as revolutionaries.

Particularly clear and gross political mistakes were made during the present period in Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, France and some other countries.

In Czecho-Slovakia the Y.C.L. and especially the Central Committee obscured their political face in the struggle for the united front. They were caught by the bait of the Y.S.I. leaders, who were maneuvering by not replying for a long time to the Y.C.L. appeal for a united front. The Y.C.L. did not expose this maneuver in time, and even stopped carrying on the ideological work of explaining to the youth the essence of social-fascist policy. As a result it found itself at the tail of the revolutionary Socialist youth who, without waiting for negotiations from above, began to unite for the struggle with the Y.C.Lers from below.

In Germany many Y.C.Lers, including various comrades from the C.C., did not understand that under the conditions of open fascist dictatorship, under conditions of the disintegration and bankruptcy of the Y.S.I., the question of winning over the members of the Y.S.I. to the side of the Y.C.L. comes forward in a different manner.

Some young Socialists were prepared to begin to carry on a revolutionary struggle against fascism, in spite of the disbanding and collapse of their organizations. But they had no experience, no organization. Instead of getting them into the ranks of the Y.C.L., some Y.C.L. organizations began to form and strengthen the Socialist organizations with their own hands. And not only this, but they began to instruct them in special letters to carry on independent actions "in their own name."

Then, some of these organizations having become stronger carried on agitation blaming the "old" social-democracy, the Communist

Party, and the Y.C.L. together with it, for the coming to power of the fascists, and began to agitate among the youth for the formation of a new centrist party, "for a Leninist Struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Germany did not promptly understand and expose this. This was a gross political mistake.

In France there were also mistakes. Various opportunists among the leaders, who were later exposed, attempted, not without the knowledge of the Party leaders, to form a united front behind the backs of the masses by negotiations from above.

I could give many other examples from Great Britain and Austria showing how not to fight for the united front and how to distort the line of the Comintern.

The line of the Comintern is clear. We must learn, and it is time to learn, not only to vote for its correctness but to carry it out correctly in practice, in the struggle.

Develop Political and Organizational Work in the Mass Bourgeois and Reformist Youth Organizations

At the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I., the question of work in every last bourgeois reformist and fascist organization of the youth was raised in a very serious and detailed manner.

According to the line set out by the Plenum, a number of Leagues obtained some successes in this matter. However, we cannot say that these successes are the real beginning of the reorganization of all the sections of the Y.C.I. in their mass work. We cannot say that deep explanations have been given to the members of the Leagues that, unless work is carried on **inside** the mass bourgeois fascist and reformist organizations, they cannot eliminate the isolation of their organizations, and provide for the struggle for the masses of the youth. The bourgeoisie are reorganizing their forces in the struggle for the youth. They are able to keep the youth under their influence by the old bourgeois methods and forms. They are establishing a compulsory government system of the fascization and militarization of the youth. We must all the more utilize the growth of the political activity of the youth, and reorganize ourselves in the shortest possible time for the struggle against the compulsory fascization and militarization of the youth.

Have the bourgeoisie yet got the basic strata of the youth

in their organizations? Yes. The bourgeoisie are driving hundreds of thousands of the youth directly and indirectly into the forced labor camps. And why are we not working among these youth? Why do we not work in the places where the youth are to be found? This is the question which every Y.C.L. leader should ask himself! It is particularly on this question, on mass work, that every Y.C.L.er should and must check up on the ability of his leaders to struggle for the line of the Comintern. We may raise the question in a different way. Is the British Y.C.L. a sectarian organization, split away from the masses? Yes. Are the Leagues in the U. S. A., France, and Sweden isolated in their own shells? Yes. Do the Y.C.L.ers of these countries work among the masses, i. e., in the mass bourgeois organizations, where the youth are to be found and where they are being driven more and more by compulsion?

We must raise the question clearly and distinctly before every Y.C.L.er. We must cease to look upon the mass of youth in the bourgeois organizations as "opponents." We must go among them and work. And anyone who does not understand this, is an opponent of mass work and sabotages the line of the Comintern. It is time to put an end to the fear of the masses, and not to justify an opportunist line by saying that if the Y.C.L.ers go to work in the mass organizations there is a danger that they will be "dissolved" in them. Anyone who argues in such a way is split away from facts and does not see that the bourgeoisie are driving Y.C.L.ers and non-Y.C.L.ers compulsorily into their mass organizations.

We are not talking about if the Y.C.L.ers go into these organizations, but that they must go and carry on mass political work in them. The December Plenum of the Y.C.I. gave a definite orientation in this direction. We are holding this Plenum exactly a year later. Our task is to check up on the fulfilment of the decisions for which many of the comrades present at this Plenum voted at that time.

On the basis of the information which we possess, we can state that the struggle was carried on badly for the decisions of the December Plenum of the Y.C.I. on mass work, and that they were not brought to the knowledge of all Y.C.L.ers. In a few places they were brought to them in such a way that they were difficult to understand not only by the Y.C.L.ers, but probably even by

those who popularized the decisions of the Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. on mass work. I have in mind Comrade Mareucci. Comrade Mareucci, together with the Party leaders, began to work out the question of work in the fascist youth organization Dopolavoro. This is a mass organization. It has 18,000 sections, of which about 3,000 are in factories. The leadership of this organization is of course in the hands of the fascists. Among its members there is a growth of dissatisfaction with the fascist policy of the leaders. For long years the Italian League, as a sectarian organization, ignored the work among the youth in Dopolavoro and other organizations. What was their task? Their task was to go, or rather to begin, to work among these youth according to the decisions of the December Plenum of the Y.C.I.

Comrade Mareucci, and the C.C. together with him, understood this correctly, but they raised the question and orientated the League incorrectly. They supplemented the decisions of the Plenum of the Y.C.I. and launched the slogan "Dopolavoro into the Hands of the Toilers." What does this mean? When Comrade Mareucci explains, it seems all right. But then, slogans should be launched not so that we can write special letters afterwards and whole volumes of comments to give explanations. Does this slogan, "Dopolavoro into the Hands of the Toilers," express class content, and does it show what we want? Does not this slogan confuse the youth when they see that it is led by toilers even though they are fascists?

But the essence of the matter is not in this, but in whether the question can be raised thus in principle. In the conditions of the fascist dictatorship, can we put forward the slogan of winning the fascist mass youth organizations into the hands of the toilers? This is a question of principle. On its resolution depend our tactics in the struggle for the masses of the youth. I think that such a slogan is wrong in principle. Why? Because it forms the illusion among the masses of the youth that without destroying the bourgeois fascist system in a revolutionary way, we may secure and educate the youth organizationally and ideologically, gradually changing them and making them Communists.

We must not confuse two conceptions on the winning of the majority of the working class and therefore of the youth to our side, and the winning of other organizations which are hostile

to us ideologically. We must not confuse two conceptions on the winning of the masses of youth to the side of Communism and the winning of the mass bourgeois youth organizations.

The masses of the toiling youth can and must be won to the side of Communism, through developing the propaganda of Leninist teachings among them, through mobilizing them for economic and political fights, through leading them to the barricades under the leadership of the Communist Party. We can in wide numbers bring them under our ideological and organizational influence, creating organizations in various forms, as the Y.C.L., etc. Under the conditions of capitalism we can work correctly among the masses of the youth, get into our hands the leadership of various local bourgeois fascist youth mass organizations. And we set ourselves this task. But under conditions of capitalism, without breaking them, we cannot get into our hands the bourgeois youth mass organizations as organizations. We do not set ourselves such a task. We set ourselves the task of uniting the masses of the youth around the Communist Party in the struggle for Soviet power. We set ourselves the task of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie in a revolutionary manner, breaking and destroying its whole apparatus, its whole system, including the mass bourgeois youth organizations, so as to form our own proletarian organizations, our Soviet system and apparatus.

Comrade Mareucci and the C.C. evidently did not take this into account, and made a mistake. They must withdraw this slogan as being incorrect in principle. They should withdraw it all the more because another slogan has arisen from it—"Down with politics." In Dopolavoro there is dissatisfaction with the fascist policy. The youth who are members of various cultural and educational organizations in the Dopolavoro system sometimes oppose the fascist policy, do not wish to go to demonstrations, meetings, etc. Some of our would-be politicians have attempted to generalize these feelings in the political slogan, "Down with politics." This slogan was criticized at one time by the Italian C.C. as undoubtedly incorrect. If such a slogan begins to be cultivated among the masses of the youth and to make way among them, it can only play into the hands of fascism and make work difficult for us among the youth. What do you think? Will not the fascists support this slogan? They will support it and direct it against us, who are bringing

in Communist politics. We must not only take back this slogan as one which orientates the youth in Italy incorrectly, but we must prevent its penetration into Germany among the youth in the forced labor camps, as well as among the youth in other countries.

In practice possibly we should not shout loudly, "Down with fascist politics!" But we should always explain deeply and with political clearness the anti-proletarian essence of this politics, its fascist essence, and not confuse the youth by slogans which orientate them improperly.

Our line is clearly set out in the decisions of the XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. We must come to the mass youth organizations. We must develop mass political work in them. In them we must form organs of the united front, hold discussions, meetings, demonstrations. We must unite the youth in them for the struggle for their economic interests. We must distribute our newspapers and leaflets there. On establishing contacts with the broad masses of the youth, we must recruit them into the Y.C.L. and through them we must penetrate into the factories.

But what should we take into consideration when doing so? The question of leadership, the question of organization plays a decisive role. These organizations are led by experienced and hard-boiled bourgeois politicians and organizers. We must not think that without the help and leadership of the Communist Party, without the formation of special cadres of activists for work in the mass organizations, without this section of the work being one of the most important in the Y.C.L. committees, we can obtain decisive successes. This is the first point. And the second is that **inside** the mass organizations we must form Y.C.L. groups, form Y.C.L. fractions and Y.C.L. cells. We must ensure the everyday personal and concrete leadership of the Y.C.L.ers who work in the mass bourgeois youth organizations by the Party and Y.C.L. organizations.

In the same way we raise the question of work in the forced labor camps. In this respect, all the Leagues, and especially the Y.C.L. of the **U. S. A. and Great Britain**, must make the maximum use of the rich experience of work of the German Y.C.L. The German Y.C.L., which has eliminated the under-estimation of work among the youth in the forced labor camps, according to the directives of the E.C.Y.C.I., has succeeded in obtaining

serious successes in the work among these youth. Of course, this does not mean that everything is ideal in the German Y.C.L. No. But its experience both favorable and unfavorable must be considered in order to carry on the struggle in the shortest possible time against the slavish compulsory system of exploitation and fascization of the youth.

We must reorganize the work immediately in such a way as to penetrate into the most varied strata of the youth. We cannot work only among the youth who are near to the Communist Party. We cannot ignore the student youth in our mass work, considering their radicalization and the existence of enormous possibilities for work among them. We must also categorically demand from the Y.C.L. of imperialist countries that they give real help to all organizations which are working in colonial countries under extremely difficult conditions. We must remember that at the present time, when the bourgeoisie is mobilizing all means of destroying the Y.C.L. and driving it underground, the work among the masses of youth takes on exceptional importance.

Some Leagues, the majority of the Leagues, are preparing to go underground. Every League, every Y.C.L. organization, must now be prepared for this. It would not be correct if this preparation for going underground were limited only to the setting up of illegal technique, rendezvous, addresses, printing plants, etc. Preparations to go underground, to meet the blows of reaction means above all, to go to the masses, because work among the masses guarantees that no terror can root out Communist influence. It is precisely in this direction that the illegal Leagues must reorganize their work and that the German League must organize its work. This is precisely what we should demand above all from the Yugo-Slavian comrades, from the **Italian** and **Japanese** Leagues.

Reorganization of the Inner-Life of the Y. C. L.!

At the December Plenum of the Y.C.I., a great deal of attention was paid to the reconstruction of the content, forms and methods of the work of the Y.C.L. It was pointed out that this reconstruction must be carried out on the basis of the development of **self-criticism** and **inner League democracy**. Have we gained very much in this respect during this year? No,

very, very little. An exception is the German Y.C.L. which was forced to go underground, and on the whole reorganized itself capably, putting its stake on the development of the initiative of the members. But if we look at the Leagues which are still developing illegally, we must say directly that for some of them the Plenum of the Y.C.I. seems not to have taken place, although their secretaries were at the Plenum.

Today we have again to raise the same questions, possibly in a sharper form than before. We must raise these questions still more sharply, the question of the reorganization of our Leagues and contacts with the masses, because there exist sentiments in favor of replacing these questions and the examination of the decisions of the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. by something new which we do not know. In many Leagues there are still big fluctuations, local groups and factory Y.C.L. cells are still formed, but the number of them is not only failing to increase, but is reducing. How can this be explained? Is it because the youth are afraid of persecution? If we are speaking of France and other countries where the Y.C.L. works legally, this question loses its significance. And it is in these very countries that we find the greatest isolation and the greatest fluctuations. Evidently, the reasons must be sought above all in the content of the work of the Y.C.L. organizations.

What is characteristic of their work? I would say "unemployment." In other words, a characteristic feature is that a small strata of activists work, or rather try to work, for the masses of members, try to replace them. A young man or girl comes into the Y.C.L. Is special work organized with them as new members, as in the Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union, previously and at the present time? No. They have come to the Y.C.L. If there is no campaign, meeting or demonstration on hand, they are left to themselves. Please yourself whether you work or not. If you want to learn revolutionary theory, all right, and if not, also all right. Do you want to pay membership dues or not, it is all the same. And what is the result? The result is that they remain members for a month or two, come to meetings, hear speeches on fascism, militarism, pacifism, opportunism, and a lot of other "isms", and leave us. They leave us while the "red hot" activists are complaining that there are no activists, no cadres, and that it is hard for them to work with

ten different jobs. Is that not right? And should it not be changed in a very short time? Of course it should.

We must reorganize the work immediately in such a way that every Y.C.L.er will carry out work according to his abilities. Serious political tasks face the Y.C.L. It will not carry out these tasks unless it mobilizes and develops the initiative and energy of all its members.

It is said that our activists are growing slowly. This is not true. It is just as untrue as it would be to say that at present the political activity of the youth is falling. Anyone who says such a thing cannot see living people, does not know the cadres of activists, and is afraid to promote new young cadres to leading work. In our Leagues there are activists, and not bad ones at all. We must only organize proper political and educational work with them. But this work with the activists is not carried on even in places where it could easily be organized and should be organized. It frequently happens that a young man is promoted to the leadership of an organization, or more rarely, a girl, but no work is carried on with them, they are not helped, and they turn out to be incapable leaders, and later the label of opportunism and sectarianism is stuck on to them.

It is necessary to organize systematic work with the active members. Not with the active members in general, but with their various groups, with industrial unit secretaries, with group secretaries, with street unit secretaries, with workers in mass organizations, with active workers in forced labor camps, with workers among the children, with workers on the press, sport, etc. The active workers must be given the necessary literature, and exchange of experiences must be organized personally as well as through the press. Where illegal conditions exist and open meetings cannot be held, it is precisely at meetings of the active workers, or at small meetings, that not only general political questions, but also questions of concrete work must be taken up. All these questions, although we are putting them forward today at the Plenum of the Y.C.I., must be further worked out more deeply and concretely to suit the conditions of struggle in the respective country or place. In the committees and cells more attention must be paid to concrete inner-League questions, as for example, the question of growth. The question of growth

is not in the center of our attention, and some comrades are now trying to change the slogan that the Y.C.L. must be broader than the Party, giving as the reason that terror is being strengthened. Some comrades do not wish to see the achievements of the Y.C.L. of Poland in heroically fighting for the cause of the Party and rallying the working youth around itself. The committees and cells must pay greater attention to the concrete questions of examining the work of the cell itself, the question of discipline, the struggle against provocation, etc. This requires a change in the work of the leading committees themselves. Paper leadership and the isolation of the committees from the lower organizations still flourishes. We must break this bureaucracy. We must make it a compulsory condition for every worker on a committee that he should devote the **maximum** of his time to work directly in the lower organizations. The greatest work among the masses is now demanded from every Y.C.Ler, and less of all kinds of unnecessary "internal" meetings with the discussion of "world problems."

Of course, a great deal more could be said on inner-League questions, but this would mean to repeat from first to last all that was said a year ago at the December Plenum of the Y.C.L. But, without repeating this, it should be emphasized that self-criticism is badly developed among us, that Party control and Party leadership are insufficient, and for this precise reason many comrades talk a lot about work but do not work, and get away with it. The Y.C.Lers must take the work of their leading organs under strict Bolshevik control. The task of the leading organs is not to fear self-criticism, but to develop it, because it discloses our shortcomings, helps to eliminate them, strengthens the organization, and cements our ranks.

The task is ours to take the initiative in putting before every Party organization not only general and personal, but chiefly, **concrete** questions of League work. Only in this way can we bring about an improvement of Party leadership and help.

At the same time we must develop a real struggle against manifestations of opportunism and sectarianism.

In practice it often happens that when we talk about the struggle against opportunism, against sectarianism in general,

then all the enemies of opportunism and all the enemies of sectarianism are all ready to struggle. But when it comes to exposing opportunist and sectarian practices in real life, so as to show the face of an opportunist to the membership, then things are quite different. Things cannot go on any further like this. We cannot carry on a struggle for the line of the Comintern and therefore the line of the Party, merely by general resolutions and declarations.

* * * *

Our Plenum has gathered under conditions of intense class struggle, when we are closely approaching a new cycle of revolutions and wars. We are solidly united around the Communist International. We are armed with the sharp weapon of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings. We have experience in the class struggle. Our ranks do not contain any of those who help the bourgeoisie and compromise with them, betraying the cause of the working class. We drive renegades decisively and mercilessly from our ranks. We see our weaknesses and mistakes. Precisely in this our strength lies. There can be no doubt that under the leadership of the Comintern we shall eliminate the isolation of the Y.C.L. and that, struggling in all countries of the world, we shall be able to prove that we are the best and nearest assistant of the Communist Parties, mobilizing the proletarian and toiling masses under the banner of Lenin for the struggle against fascism and war, for Soviet Power!

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